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## II.—ON THE OLD ARMENIAN VERSION OF PLATO'S APOLOGY.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Relation of  $\Delta$  to the Armenian.*—It is barely credible that in the case of a text so often edited as that of the Apology of Plato there should still lie hidden in the Greek codices readings both new and true, yet that this is so I am sure any one will allow who compares with the latest texts of Schanz and Wohlrab the Codex Vaticanus, in two volumes, Nos. 225, 226, saec. XII, called in the apparatus of Bekker  $\Delta\Theta$ . These two volumes contain the whole of Plato along with the seven spurious dialogues, but, with the exception of the first tetralogy and the Gorgias, it is said by Schanz to be a mere apograph of the Clarkian or Bodleian Codex. In a former number of this Journal I proved that for the Euthyphro the text of  $\Delta$  is very closely allied,<sup>2</sup> both by common lacunae and various characteristic readings, with the old Armenian Version, which was made not later and perhaps two or three centuries earlier than the year 1030 A. D.

2. *Antiquity of readings jointly attested by them.*—Thus the readings of  $\Delta$  attested by the Armenian are thrown back to a much more remote epoch than that to which  $\Delta$  belongs, and almost certainly to some ninth-century codex contemporary with the Bodleian MS. My examination in these pages of the text of the Euthyphro as it is evidenced by  $\Delta$  + Armenian fully bore out this claim to antiquity, for I showed that it comprised all the excellencies of both the classes—the better and the worse—into which Schanz divides, as with a chopper, the Platonic MSS; being at one and the same time free from the characteristic faults

### <sup>1</sup> NOTARUM INDEX.

B = Codex Clarkianus sive Bodleianus.

D = Venetus 185 (Bekkeri II).

E = Bessarionis Liber sive Venetus 184 (Bekkeri E).

F = Vaticanus 1029 (Bekkeri T).

Recentiores manus librorum BCDEF significavi literes bcd ef.

$\Delta$  = Vaticanus 225.

Arm. = Versio Antiqua Armena.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. XII 202.

of both classes of text. We can in no other way account for this combination in Δ of the good points and avoidance of the bad points of the other manuscripts, than by supposing it to contain a fuller and better tradition of the Platonic text than any other extant MS. In view of the antiquity which the Armenian Version reveals for it, it is absurd to tender the explanation that it exhibits a mixed or composite text, at any rate so far as it agrees with Arm.

3. Δ *neglected by M. Schanz*.—However, Schanz does not consider Δ worthy of notice, and in his edition of the first tetralogy he does not record any of its readings. “Der Vaticanus in der ersten Tetralogie (zeigt) eine andere (sc. als B) und zwar schlechtere Quelle zeigt.” He admits, however, that in the Apology Δ follows a better tradition than in the Euthyphro; still it does not belong to the good class (“gehört . . . nicht zu der guten Classe,” Studien, p. 49); and in preparing his text of the Apology he is content to collate for his readers E (= Bekker’s Ξ) as the least corrupt specimen of the many MSS of manifold tradition, which he lumps together as one family. He also gives the readings of F, as a specimen of the “libri, quorum textus ex duabus familiis conflatus sit.” His classification of the MSS of Plato reminds one of the man who only knew of two tunes, of which one was ‘God save the Queen,’ and the other was all other tunes.

4. *Although of first rate importance for the text of the Apology*.—Yet Schanz is the loser by his neglect of Δ and his excessive veneration of B, which happens to be three centuries older than any other MS. For of the conjectures which he admits into his text of the Apology, he would have found more than one established in the pages of Δ; for example, ἵνα μή μοι in 22A, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι in 23B, τοῦτο τὸ τοσοῦτον in 25E, οὔτε ἡμᾶς in 35B, 23E πάλαι καὶ νῦν (so d, refingens b). In three more passages Δ alone of the MSS has the true reading, viz. 18D πάντων for πάντες; ὅταν πράττη τι in 28B, where Forster and Heindorf had conjectured ὃ τι ἂν πράττη, which comes to the same thing; and in 31C om. τὸν before μάρτυρα, “ubi τὸν inclusit Hirschig.” The fact that as many as three or four of the conjectures admitted by Schanz into his text are found written in Δ entitled this codex to more consideration. In No. 8, vol. III, of the Classical Review (October, 1889), in a note on the Ancient Armenian Version of Plato, I conjectured from it alone μὴ in 22A, εἰ in 24A, and in 33E τε ὁ ζωίδου. It was

no small gratification to me when, three years later, I found in  $\Delta$  a Greek text which bore out these readings, as well as many others which I had written in the margin of my edition, but had not printed. Such unexpected verification was a proof at once of the utility of the Version for critical purposes and of the antiquity of the text represented by  $\Delta$ .

5. *Common lacunae in  $\Delta$  and Armenian.*—Just as in the Euthyphro there are common lacunae in  $\Delta$  and the Armenian, testifying to a common archetype, so in the Apology the words in 21C κῆπται ἐπειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικνύναι ὅτι οἷοιτο μὲν εἶναι σοφὸς εἴη δ' οὐ are omitted in both sources; and though here there is a similar ending to cause it, this lacuna no doubt existed in the archetype of both. The transmission of such lacunae from a codex at least as old as the Xth century down to a codex of the XIIth is not in itself singular, for, as Schanz has noticed, a common lacuna at 208D–209A of the Theaetetus binds together the group of codices of which B is the oldest and best representative. It is singular, however, that the lacuna in the Apology has not been filled up in  $\Delta$  from some one of the other families of which BDEF are examples; seeing that various corruptions proper to these exemplars occur in  $\Delta$ , yet must have been introduced into  $\Delta$  at a time posterior to that archetype from which both it and the Armenian Version are descended, since they are absent from the latter.  $\Delta$  has been thus vitiated by contact with these other sources; yet they have not been used to fill up its lacuna.

6. *Collation with Wohlrab's text of  $\Delta$ .*—Before considering the Armenian I give a collation of  $\Delta$  with Wohlrab's recension of Hermann's text (Lipsiae, B. G. Teubner, 1888).

NOTE.—From St. p. 29 to end the smaller differences of orthography, such as omission of ν ephelk. and αἰσχύνῃ for αἰσχύνει are not recorded in the following collation. The MS omits ι subscript.

St. I, p. 17A ὀλίγου δεῖν ἔμμεναι. So E (not Arm.). | B οὐτοι μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ. So Arm. | C πρέποι] ο sup. ras. | C περιέμαι for παρίεμαι. | C ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπέζων. So BDE. The Arm. has a lacuna of five or six words here, so we do not know if it had καὶ or not. | D ἐτύχανον ὃν (not in Arm.).

18A καὶ τὸν νοῦν τούτῳ tr. So Arm. | A αὕτη ἡ ἀρετή. So D (not Arm.). | B ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν ἀληθές. So BDFArm. | τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν. So E. | C om. οἱ before ταύτην τὴν φήμην. So BDEFArm. | παῖδες ὄντες ἔνιοι ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια. So EFArm. | D πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις. So FArm. | D πεπεισμένοι καὶ. So Arm.

19A οὕτω γενέσθαι. So EF. | After ὑμῖν om. καὶ ἐμοί (not Arm.). | ἦτω ὅπη. So E. | B Μελιτός (sic semper). So F, ? Arm. | B διέβαλον. | C ἄλλην τινά for ἄλλην πολλήν. So Arm. | μὴ πω ἐγὼ (so perhaps Arm.). | τοσαύτας for τοσαύτας, cp. d. | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων ἐμοί tr. | οὐδὲν μέτεστι. So EF, cp. BD. | D ἡ σμικρὸν ἦ. | E post ἔξεστι comma.

20A σφίσι ξυνεῖναι. So EFb. | B ἀληθῶς ἔχοι (? Arm.). So B(D)EF. | C ἐμμενῶς (ἐμμελῶς Arm.). | διδάσκει. So F (not Arm.). | καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκαλ. | D τί ποτε. So F. | πεποίηκε. So EF. | E κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. So F. | ἀξιώχρεον. | ἡ δὴ for εἰ δὴ (not Arm.). | ἐστὶ σοφία. So DEF and cp. B. | ἡ δὴ τίς and ις sup. lit. man. rc. (Arm. = εἰ δὴ τι).

21A ἐνέφυγε for ξυνέφυγε. ? Arm. | εἴ τις ἐμοί. | B ἐτραπόμην τοιαύτην τινά tr. So Arm. | C omit κάπειτα . . . εἴη δ' οὐ. So Arm. | D καὶ ἀγαθόν. | τούτου σμικρῶ and om. γε. So F. | E καὶ ἰέναι sup. lit. man. rc. for ἰτέον οὖν (καὶ ἰέναι E, in ras. F, supra versum add d).

22A om. γὰρ after δεῖ (not Arm.). | ἵνα μοι μὴ ἀνέλεγκτος. So Arm. | δις θυράμβων. | B ἐκείνων ὄντα] ὄντα sup. lit. ubi ὄντων fuerat. | πεπραγματεῦσαι. | ἐπεποιήκεσαν, man. rc. ex -κασιν refinx. | C ἴσασι δέ. So EF, cp. BD. | λεγουσιν. Cp. D ubi -ν erasa est. | ἀ οὐκ ἤκουσαν for ἀ οὐκ ἴσαν. So FArm. | ξυνήδειν. | D ἥδειν. | E λυσιτελεῖ ὥσπερ. So Fd (not Arm.). | ἐκ ταυτησί γούν.

23A ἀξία ἐστι. So EF, cp. BD. | τούτον for τουτ' οὐ. So BDEF-Arm. | B ποιούμενος παράδειγμα tr. So Arm. | ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ. | Om. μὴ after ἐπειδάν μοι. So Arm. | C χαίροντες for χαίρουσιν (not in Arm.). | ἐξεταζομένων ubi ζο sup. ras. (cp. E et in mg. γρ d). | D καπειδάν. | E πάλαι καὶ νῦν. So 'd, refingens b, probavit Hoenebeck.' Schanz adds νῦν in text; BDEF om. νῦν; Arm. om. καὶ νῦν.

24A εἰ οἷός τ' ἦν (sic) ubi manus altera ἦν in εἶην refinxit. | οὐτε σμικρὸν. So EFb. | ὅ τι καὶ αληθῆ (not Arm.). | αἷτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶ where F has ταῦτ' and EF have ἐστι and -ν is erased in BD. | B αὕτη ἔστω. So EFbArm. | φησι ἀδικεῖν. | C προσποιουμένους. So B (Arm. doubtful) and cp. F. | D ποιῇ for ποιεῖ. So EFd. | E ποιεῖν for ποιοῦσιν. So EF, in marg. b (? Arm.).

25A καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. So F. | C ἀποφαίνεις σαφῶς tr. So Arm. | εἰ δὲ εἰπέ ἡμῖν (Arm. εἰπέ μοι). | D ἀποκρίνεσαι for ἀποκρίνεσθαι. | E τοῦτο . . . τοσούτον relicto duarum litt. spatio (? Arm. = τοῦτό τι τος.).

26A ψεύδη for ψεύδει. So DEF, ψεύδ\* B. | ἥδη δὴλόν ἐστίν for δ. ἦ. ε. So F; Arm. and ἥδη ἐστίν in folio rescripto om. B. | C τουτοισί for τούτοις. So EFb. | ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ for ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ (not Arm.). | E πριαμένοις]—νο\*ς. | νομίξα sic, ubi νομίζειν Edf, νομίζων F, νομίζω BDArm. ut uid.

27A ξυντιθέντι καὶ διαπειρωμένῳ. So Arm.; E has ἡ διαπ. | B μέμ-

νησθέ μου μὴ. So F (not Arm.). | ἄλλα θορυβήτο. | C μόγις ἀποκρίνω (not Arm.). | ἀποκρίνη for ἀποκρίνει. So EFd (ἀποκριν\* BD, ἀποκριν\*\* D, ἀποκρίνει b). | D ἐπέειδεν καὶ δαίμ. (Arm. ? εἰ for καὶ). | εἰ δ' ἂν οἱ. | λεγ . . νται for λέγονται. | Before ἀνθρώπων om. ἄν. So BD Arm. ut uid. | E μὴ ἡγεῖται εἶναι (Arm. = ἡγοῖτο). | ἐγκαλεῖς for ἐγκαλοῖς. So first hand in E. | ἐστι καὶ. So EF, ἐστι\* καὶ BD.

28A γέγονε. So EF. | τοῦτο ἐστίν. So F. | B αἰσχύνῃ. So EFd, αἰσχύν\* B. | τοῦ ζῆν ubi ἡ sup. lit. ras. facta ut uid. litt. εἰ. | ὅτ' ἂν πράττη τι. Arm. adds τι. | C κατεφρόνησε. So EF: ν ephelk. eras. in BD. | C ἐτάρω (sic) for ἐταίρω. Cp. ἐτέρω D. | ἀποθανῇ. So Ed, ἀποθάνῃ F. | D τὸ ζῆν κακός. Ubi sec. m. e κακός ref. καλός. | κορωνῆσιν. | E om. καὶ after ἄρχειν μου (not Arm.).

29A ἀλλ' ὅτι οὖν. | μέγιστον ὦν τῶν. | B φοβηθήτομαι for φοβήσομαι. So Fd, Euseb., Theodoretus. | E om. καὶ before εἰάν τις (not Arm.). | εὐθὺ ἀφίσω. | Before ἐλαχίστου, ἐπ' for περὶ.

30A αὐτοῖς for ἀστοῖς (not Arm.). | οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλω. | B ἢ ἀφίετε ἢ ἀφίετε om. μὴ. | ποιήσοντος] -os in later hand. | C ὧ ἄνδρες. So EArm. | μέλλω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἅττα εἶρεῖν. Cp. codd. | D ἀτιμάσειεν. So BDFe, Theodoretus (Arm. doubtful). | μεγάλα καὶ κακά (not Arm.). | Post ὑμῶν man. rc. corr. ἐμὲ in ὑμῶν.

31A οὖν ἄλλος] οὖ- sup. lit. man. rc. | ἀποκτείνουτε ubi οι sup. lit. pr. m. | διατελοῖτε ubi οι refinx. ex ει m. alt. | B τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον ubi ν ex η refinx. pr. m. | καὶ εἰ μέντοι τι. So BDEFArm. | C before μάρτυρα om. τὸν ubi τὸν inclusit Hirschig. | C περιῶν]. The first ι and the accent on ω are in a later hand. | D ἔγραψε for ἐγράψατο. | ἀπολώλειν w. EFbd. | E ὠφελήκειν w. EFbd.

32A ἀκούσατε δὴ μοι τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα. So EF (Arm. = 'audite igitur casus mei.' Therefore om. ἐμοὶ in BD, which have a conflate text). | ὑπέκων δὲ ἅμα καὶ ἅμ' ἂν ἀπολοίμην. So BD (not Arm.). | B κρίνειν παρανόμων. So E, corr. e (not Arm.). | C ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ. So F. | D αὖ ἐδειξάμην. So Arm. ut uid. "coniecit ἐπεδειξάμην Hirschig." | E μάρτυρες πολλοὶ tr. (not Arm.).

33B before εἰάν τις om. καὶ. So Arm. | βούλητε for βούληται. | ὧ ἂν λέγω. | εἴτε after ἐγὼ] εἴτ sup. lit. sec. man. | C ἐστι δὲ οὐκ ἀηδές. So Arm. | ὅπερ τις πάποτε καὶ ἄλλω, where F has πάποτε, quod recepit Hirschig. Arm. has ἄλλω. | D χρῆν δέ που. | E Νικόστρατός τε ὁ ζωτίδου. So Arm. | παράδος. So BDFArm.

34A Διαντόδωρος] ἂν ἀντόδωρος (sic). | B after αὐτοὶ μὲν omit γὰρ (not Arm.). | C ἰκέτευσε ubi σε refinxit man. rc. ex ε. | D after τί δὴ om. οὖν (not Arm.). | E οὗ μοι sup. lit. man. rc. ubi erat ἐμοὶ (Arm. = οὗ μοι). | εἴτ' οὖν ψεύδο\*ς (ubi ψεύδους erat).

35A κρίων for κρίωνται. | B καὶ ὀπητιούν. So EF, and ὀπητιούν B (Arm. = ὀτιούν). | δοκεῖ ubi εἰ ex οἱ ref. m. rc. | C οἷς ἂν δοκεῖ ubi δοκῇ ex δοκεῖ fecit D. | πρὸς ἡμᾶς. So E (not Arm.). | D φεύγοντας ὑπὸ (not Arm.). | E τοῦ μὲν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν.

36A καταληφθήσασθε. | ὥμην. So Ed<sup>1</sup>. | εἰς τριάκοντα μόνα ubi s erasa (not Arm.). | ὥφειλε for ὄφλε. | B ἢ δῆλον; ὅτι τῆς ἀξίας· τί οὖν ἀξίος. Here τί ante ἀξίος deleuit Cobet. The Arm. retains τί. | D εἰ δέ γε κατὰ. So BFd<sup>1</sup> (Arm. = εἰ κατὰ). | τιμᾶσθε. So BEFd<sup>1</sup> (Arm. = τιμᾶσθαι). | τί ἂν πρέποι.

37A μᾶλλον πέπεισμαι sine interp. | B τινὸς ἐμαντοῦ (not Arm.). | τί δέισας εἰ μὴ πάθω (not Arm.). | ὁφνημι ubi pr. m. scripserat δν. | ἐστίν· ἀντὶ. | ὄντων τοῦτου τιμησ. So BEFd<sup>1</sup> Arm. | C τιμήσωμαι. So B, Schanz. | D ῥαδίως ῥαδίως ex dittogr. | καλῶς οὖν (not Arm.). | E πάντων τὸ χαλεπώτατον. | πείσεσθω in πείσεσθε corr. alt. man.

38A ἀκούετο sic. | ῥάδιον. So B, Schanz. | B βούλεσθί. | ἡμῖν ἔσονται (not Arm.). | C τῇ πόλει λοιδορεῖν. | πάντας ἡμᾶς (not Arm.).

39A ῥᾶον ἂν τις. So EArm. | πονηρία\*, ubi ν sup. vs. add man. rc. | B before ἔδει σχεῖν om. καὶ. So Arm. | C ἄξειν for ἤξειν (not Arm.). | εἰργάσασθε. So BDF. | οἰόμενοί γε. Here B has οἰόμενοι\*. Schanz thinks that με has been erased, since DF add με, but γε probably stood. Hermann conjectured μὲν. | D ἀγανακτῆσθε ubi -τε corr. m. rc. ex -τω vel -τα. | οἴεσθαι. | κωλοῦειν for κελεύειν. Cp. Arm.

40B ἐνταῦθα for ἐνταυθοῦ. | τὸ ξυμβεβηκώς. | C τεθνᾶναι bis. | E εἰ δ' ἂν οἶδν.

41A after ἄλλοι om. ὅσοι (not Arm.). | B ἀηδὲς with BDFArm. | τίς ἂν αὐτῶν. So BDF (Arm. om. ἂν with E). | ἄγοντα τὴν. So BDF. | DE omit βλάπτειν down to δέομαι τοὺς (not Arm.). | E ταυτὰ ταῦτα. | λυποῦντας sed a sup. lit. rc. m. | ὀνειδίζετα. | βιωσόμενοις ubi o post σ refinxit ex a vel ω rc. m. | πλὴν δὴ τῷ θεῷ. Here in B πλὴν \*\*. 'Fuisse uidetur εἰ,' says Schanz. Why not δὴ? (Arm. doubtful.)

7. *Peculiar errors of Δ.*—The Codex Δ must have been copied from some text in which the terminations such as -τες, -τα, -τας, -θαι, -θε, -ος, -ται, -το, -ειν, -αν, etc., were expressed by compendia, and these have been confused by a scribe not a little ignorant of the Greek language. In small matters of orthography Δ agrees closely with EF and the texts in accordance with which some hand or hands revised BD.

8. *Upon the origin of errors in the text of Plato.*—Many of the readings of Δ are evidenced neither by the Armenian nor by other Greek codices, and these must at once be dismissed as mere corruptions. Some of the crucial difficulties are left

unsolved either by Δ or by the more ancient type of its text preserved in the Armenian. Such are *μᾶλλον* in 18B, *οἱ* omitted in 18C, *τοῦτον* in 23A, *ἀτιμάσειεν* (Arm. doubtful) in 30D, *ἄν* omitted before *ἀνθρώπων* (Arm. doubtful) in 27D, *εἰ μέντοι τι* in 31B, *πάραδος* in 33E, *τούτου* after *ὄντων* in 37B. All but three of these errors in the Platonic text have arisen in one of two ways: either from a dittography, e. g. *τούτου* out of *τοῦ* repeated, *μέντοι τι* from *τι* being repeated in *τοι*, which had the same sound; or from the omission of a word identical with the beginning or end of the words which either followed or preceded it, e. g. *ἄν* was lost before *ἀνθρώπων*, *οἱ* after *Ἀθηναῖοι* in 18C. It is clear that some remote ancestor of all our codices BDEFΔ had contracted many errors from one or other of these causes. The Armenian reveals the presence in all these codices of several more errors of the same kind, e. g. *οὐχὶ* lost in 36B, *τὸ* lost after *δέξατο* in 41B.

9. Δ remedies several such errors of BDEF.—Three of the errors pervading all the codices except Δ are of the same nature, viz. *μὴ* lost in 22A, *εἰ* lost in 23B, *τὸ* lost in 25E. A more serious fault of the kind is the loss in BD of *ᾧ παῖ* after *οἶμαι* in 28C, a fault which Schanz absurdly stereotypes in his text. In 28D the converse vice is seen in the wrong insertion in BDF of *ἦ* after *τάξη*. Both of these last two errors are corrected in Arm. and Δ, and EF also add *ᾧ παῖ*, but E alone is free from *ἦ*.

10. Purity of the Armenian text as compared with Δ.—As being free from so many errors contracted by its collateral or direct descendant Δ, the text reflected in the Armenian must be regarded as in order of derivation long anterior to Δ, itself a codex of the XIIth century. The latter remedies several vices exhibited in all the other Greek codices, including BD which, according to Schanz, embody the best tradition of text. We need not be surprised if we find that the Armenian discovers and remedies many more faults present in all our Greek codices, not even excepting B.

11. Collation of Arm. with the text of Schanz.—To this Version we must now turn, and the following is a collation of it with Schanz's text.

\*Plato, Apol. 17B. Schanz reads *ὁμολογοῖν ἂν ἔγωγε οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν*. These words are not what one would expect in the context. "Many as were my accusers' falsehoods, there was one which quite amazed me—I mean when they told you to be on



your guard, lest you should be deceived by my eloquence. To use such language, when they were sure to be detected as soon as I opened my lips and displayed my utter incapacity as a speaker, did certainly appear to me most shameless—unless indeed these accusers call one who speaks the truth eloquent. For if they say that, then I will admit that I am eloquent. But in how different a way from theirs. Well, as I was saying, they have hardly uttered a word, or not more than a word, of truth."

Muretus (var. lect. 3, 16) would have removed *οὐ* from the text, so that the sense should be: "then I am prepared to allow that I am an orator in their sense." Yet the sense "I will allow that I am—in contrast with them (or 'not as they are')—an orator" may stand, if instead of *οὗτοι μὲν οὖν* there followed *οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ*; the reason being so given for the introduction in the former sentence of the aside *οὐ κατὰ τούτους*. Δ and Arm. read *γὰρ* for *οὖν* here, and they must be right.

18A. Δ and Arm. have the order *τὸν νοῦν τούτῳ* instead of *τούτῳ τὸν νοῦν*.

18D *οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πείθοντες*. Δ and Arm. add *καὶ* before *ἄλλους*; Arm. also omits *καὶ* before *αὐτοί*.

18B *καὶ πάλαι, πολλὰ ἤδη ἔτη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντες*. The Arm. mistakes *ἔτη* for *ἔτι* and renders *καὶ πάλαι καὶ ἤδη ἔτι, πολλὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλ.*, which seems a mere bungle.

\*18D. The Arm. has *πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις κωμωδιοποιός*, with F.

\*18D *οὗτοι πάντες ἀπορώτατοι*]. ΔArm. have *πάντων* for *πάντες*, which Wohlrab adopts. Ast conjectured *πάντων*.

19D *καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνώσεσθε ὅτι τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν καὶ τᾶλλα περὶ ἐμοῦ ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν*. Schanz notes, apparently against *τᾶλλα*, as follows: *πολλὰ* B, sed *τᾶλλα* supra versum add. b; *τᾶλλ' ἃ περὶ ἐμοῦ οἱ* Cobet *mnemos.*, vol. 9 (1860), p. 361. Δ and Arm. show *τᾶλλα*.

\*20E *τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν σοφία καὶ οἷα, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι*]. Arm. = *τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν, σοφίας μάρτυρα ὑ. π.*, and omits *καὶ οἷα*. Perhaps this is the true reading, though found in no Greek codex. In Δ the *-is* of *tis* is over an erasure.

\*21B *σκέψασθε δέ*]. The Arm. has *δὴ*, read in E and first hand of B, though not in Δ.

21B. Both Δ and the Version have the order *ἐτραπόμην τοιαύτην τινα*.

21C. The Arm. and Δ have a common lacuna, omitting *κάπειτα . . . εἴη δ' οὗ*. It is of course due to the similar ending *εἶναι δ' οὗ* of the preceding clause.

21E ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει εἶναι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πλείστον ποιείσθαι· ἰτέον οὖν σκοποῦντι τὸν χρησμόν, τί λέγει. Schanz notes: ἰτέον BD: καὶ ἰέναι E, in ras. F, supra versum add. d. The Arm. translator seems to have read ἰτέον οὖν ἐδόκει εἶναι σκοποῦντι, which may account for the impossible variant καὶ ἰέναι.

\*22A ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο. This is Wohlrab's recension of Hermann's text and is found in BDEF. This text Stallbaum allows as indicative of the supreme irony of Sokrates, who declares that the upshot of all his labours was "only to find at last the oracle irrefutable" (Jowett).

Hermann, Voss and others have variously emended the text, the former conjecturing ἵνα μοι κἄν ἐλεγκτός, the latter ἵνα ἔμουγ' ἀν ἐλεγκτός. Vahlen and Schanz adopted a reading given in a note by Stephanus: ἵνα μὴ μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος. In 1890 I pointed out in the English Classical Review for Oct. 1889, that the Armenian Version confirmed Stephanus' conjecture. But more recently I found that Δ reads ἵνα μοι μὴ ἀνέλεγκτος. The Armenian has ἵνα μὴ μοι ἀνέλ.

\*22B ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο]. Arm. = ἐν ὀλ. τούτῳ 'in this brief space.' So F.

\*22C καὶ ἅμα ἡσθόμην αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ποίησιν οἰομένων καὶ τᾶλλα σοφωτάτων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ᾧ οὐκ ἦσαν. Stallbaum notes ᾧ οὐκ ἦσαν, sc. σοφοί. Prof. Gildersleeve conjectures that ἦσαν should be read, comparing ἦστε in Dem. 49, 46. But the reading ἤκουσαν for ἦσαν, which is evidenced by Δ, by F and by the Armenian, is far neater. "I felt too that, because they were poets, they considered themselves to be very wise men in regard to all other matters also, in regard to which they had not even the reputation of being wise."

\*22D. The Armenian has the true reading ἀπέκρυπτεν given in Δ and E.

\*23B ὥσπερ ἂν \*εἴ\* εἴποι ὅτι. Schanz notes thus: εἰ add. Stephanus: om. BDEF. Both Δ and the Armenian, however, add εἰ; so Stephanus may have added it from some codex.

23B καὶ ἐπειδὴν μοι μὴ δοκῇ]. Here Δ and Arm. omit μὴ after μοι, owing to the similarity of sound.

23C ὡς Σωκράτης τίς ἐστι]. Perhaps Arm. = ὡς Σ. ἐστὶ τις, with F.

\*23D ὃ τι ποιῶν καὶ ὃ τι διδάσκων]. The Arm. = ὃ τι π. ἡ καὶ ὃ τι δι., which is better. The Η may have been lost after Ν.

\*23D προσποιούμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν]. So BDEFΔ. The Arm. = προσπ. μὲν εἰδέναι τι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν, which may be right, as Heindorf had already conjectured μὲν τι instead of μὲν. But

the risk of paraphrase in a version must be discounted in such a case.

\*24A *καί τοι οἶδα σχεδὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι*]. *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* is very harsh, and Heindorf conjectured *τούτοις αὐτοῖς*. The Arm. implies *αὐτοῖς τούτοις*, no doubt rightly.

\*24B *περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρῶτοί μου κατήγοροι κατηγοροῦν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ ἀπολογία πρὸς ὑμᾶς*]. 'ἐστὶν BD, ἔστω EFb, at vide N. C., p. 161.' Yet *ἔστω* is obviously the true reading and is read in Δ and implied by the Version.

24B *ἔχει δέ πως ᾧδε*]. 'ᾧδε B: ᾧδε DEF: δ' ᾧδε πως Hirschig.' The Arm. = 'quomodo est isto modo,' as if the translator had perhaps read *ἔχει δέ πῶς; ᾧδε*.

24C *τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔγκλημα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν*]. The Arm. omits *ἐστὶν* and = 'sed igitur crimen tale aliquid.' Hirschig conjectured *τοιοῦτόν τι*; but the Armenian idiom would permit of the addition, so we cannot say with certainty that *τι* stood in the translator's Greek.

24D *ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις \*εἰς\* τουτουσὶ καὶ κατηγορεῖς*]. Here *εἰς τουτουσὶ* is a conjecture of Cobet's var. lect., p. 299: *τουτοισί* is read in BDEFΔ. The Arm. = 'me inducis apud hos (or ad hos) et accusas,' seems to confirm Cobet's conjecture. For it would hardly so render *τουτοισί*; to which the Armenian dative would correspond, rather than the accusative with preposition which it uses. Though the translator hardly ever uses a paraphrase, yet he might do so here in order to make sense of *τουτοισί*. And the preposition used = *πρὸς* or *παρὰ* rather than *εἰς*.

\*25C *σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεις*]. The Arm. transposes *ἀποφ. σαφ.*, with FΔ.

25C *ἔτι δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπέ*]. Δ has *εἰπέ ἡμῖν*. Arm. has the same order, but *ἐμοί* for *ἡμῖν*.

\*25E *οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ, ἀγαθόν*]. E adds *τι* after *ἀγαθόν*, 'quod recepit Hirschig.' The Arm. also has *ἀγαθόν τι*, and as it stands in a Greek codex, we may safely assume that the translator had it in his Greek text.

26A *παύσομαι οὐ γὰρ ἄκων ποιῶ*]. Here *οὐ* is a conjecture for *ὅ* read in BDEFΔ. The Armenian's reading is ambiguous, but he probably read *ὅ*. His version literally = 'cesso ad quodcunque facio quidem a malo invitus.' A simple way of restoring the Greek would be *παύσομαι, ὅ γὰρ ἄκων ποιῶν* 'I will stop, I the anyhow unwilling agent.'

\*26A *τοῦτο μὲν δῆλον ἦδη ἐστίν*]. Schanz notes: 'ἦδη ἐστίν in folio rescripto om. B.' FΔ and Arm. have *ἦδη δῆλόν ἐστιν*.

26E οὕτωςί σοι δοκῶ οὐδένα νομίζω]. So BD; F has νομίζων, Edf νομίζειν. Arm. adds ὡς before νομίζω, with Cod. Laurent. plut. 85, 17.

\*27A αἰνιγμα ξυντιθέντι διαπειρωμένῳ]. So BDF; ἡ διαπ. E. But Δ and Arm. have καὶ διαπ., which seems better.

\*27A οὗτος γὰρ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι]. The Arm. has οὕτως γὰρ . . . λέγων κ. τ. λ. Thus οὕτως anticipated ὥσπερ—a distinct improvement. λέγων is read in F. The εἰ before εἴποι is omitted in BD by first hand and added above line by bd. Δ and Arm. add it.

27A ὁ ἄνδρες]. The Arm. adds 'Αθηναῖοι.

27D ἐπειδήπερ γε]. Arm. perhaps had εἰ for γε and read this clause with what follows. Δ has καὶ for γε.

27D τίς ἂν ἀνθρώπων θεῶν μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῖτο εἶναι]. ΔArm. om. ἂν, with BD. The Arm. = 'quis hominum deorum pueros putat esse.' Yet it is not safe to infer that the translator read ἡγεῖται, especially as Δ has ἡγοῖτο.

27E 'Ἄλλ' ὁ Μέλῃτε οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως σὺ [ταῦτα] οὐχὶ ἀποπειρώμενος ἡμῶν ἐγράψω τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην]. In the above EFb read σὺ and BD οὐ. Δ has συ. The Armenian seems to have read σὺ οὐ, for it = 'Sed, O Melite, non est quomodo tu non haec sine tentatione adversus nos scripsisti scriptum hoc.'

\*28A ἃ δὴ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἤρκεν]. So Wohlrab reads, following BDEFΔ. Schanz, following Hirschig's conjecture, prints ἃ δὴ πολλοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγ. ἄ. ἡ. Cobet, var. lect., p. 300; mnemos., vol. II (1862), p. 437, conjectured καὶ ἄλλους ἀγαθοὺς. By a simple transposition the Arm. gives the true reading: ἃ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγ. ἄ. ἡ. Schanz's remedy is too violent.

\*28B ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττη, πότῃ δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα πράττει]. Here ὅταν πράττη is bald, and Forster conjectured ὅτι ἂν πράττη 'probante Heindorfio.' The Arm. and Δ have kept the true reading ὅταν πράττη τι. In BDEF the τι has dropped out, owing to the -τη which preceded it. It must be allowed, however, that ὅτ' ἂν of Δ may be the right reading, omitting τι which the same MS adds.

\*28C εἰ τιμωρήσεις]. The Arm. has ὁ παῖ, εἰ τιμ. So EFΔ Eusebius, and 'ὁ παῖ add. supra versum d, in marg. b.' Wohlrab includes ὁ παῖ in his text. They clearly dropped out of BD, owing to similarity with οἶμαι, which precedes. To exclude it from his text, as Schanz does, is mere superstition.

28C ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας]. The Arm. perhaps had τοῦτο, with E. The other codd. BDFΔ have ταῦτα.

28D οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει . . . τῇ ἀληθείᾳ]. The Arm. perhaps involves ἡ ἀλήθεια for the dative.

\*28D τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος]. So EΔArm. and the excerpts in Theodoret., Eusebius, Stobaeus, Antoninus. But BDF read τάξῃ ἡ ἡγ., 'sed ἡ punctis notavit b.' This η seems really to belong before ἀλήθεια, whence, having strayed, it was replaced by τῇ in the codices.

\*29A οἰόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὦν]. The Arm. renders οὐκ ὦν as if ἀγνοῶν, and this, if account be taken of what follows in the context, will be seen to be the true reading, though all the Greek codices have lost it. The translator could never have provided so clever a substitute.

\*29A, B καὶ τοῦτο πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία αὕτη ἡ ἐπονείδιστος, ἡ τοῦ οἶεσθαι]. So all the Greek MSS and Stobaeus. Yet it is clear that both τοῦτο and αὕτη ἡ are not wanted in the text. For καὶ τοῦτο πῶς Eusebius read καὶ τοι πῶς; 'unde exculpserit aliquis καὶ τοι τοῦτο πῶς,' says Heindorf. The Armenian had not αὕτη ἡ in his text, or at any rate does not render it.

\*29D ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι]. So BDΔ; EFArm. and Eusebius read ὦ ἄν. Ἀθ.

\*30A μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς]. The Arm. adds ὑμῖν after μᾶλλον δέ. Just below it omits ὑμῖν after ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδέν πω. In our Greek MSS ὑμῖν has got from its right place (which it occupies in the Armenian) into the margin, and has strayed back into a wrong place after οὐδέν πω.

\*30B λέγων ὅτι]. EFΔArm., Cobet; om. ὅτι BD.

\*30B. The Arm. also reads ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθην. with E alone of the codices.

\*30B καὶ ἡ ἀφίετε ἡ μὴ ἀφίετε]. The second ἀφίετε is a gloss, as Hirschig saw. E and Arm. reject it. BDF retain it. Δ reads καὶ ἡ ἀφίετε ἡ ἀφίετε, by a dittology. It is probable therefore that in the Armenian and E we have the text of the archetype of Δ.

30C ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι]. The Arm. prefixes ὦ, with E.

30C μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅττα ὑμῖν ἐρεῖν]. So BDF. Δ and Arm. omit οὖν. Also E has ἅττα ἐρεῖν ὑμῖν, while Δ has ὑμῖν ἅττα ἐρεῖν. The Arm. omits ὑμῖν, of which the position thus oscillates in the Greek texts. Clearly ὑμῖν in some ancient copy got into the margin, and the Arm. was made from a text into which it had not yet made its way back. I prefer, on the whole, the collocation of Δ.

\*30D ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ποιεῖν ᾗ]. The Arm. adds τὸ before ποιεῖν, and is probably right, for τὸ might easily drop out before πο.

\*31A εἰ μὴ τινα ἄλλον ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐπιπέμψειεν κηδόμενος ὑμῶν]. 'ὕμῶν spurium putavit Ludwig.' The Arm. actually omits ὑμῶν. In this passage ὑμῖν oscillates in the MSS in its position; BDF have ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν and E ὑμ. ὁ θ. This may explain the wrong insertion of ὑμῶν, which was added to some text from which ὑμῖν had dropped out.

31B εἶχεν ἄν τινα λόγον]. So Eb; εἶχον BDFΔ. 'εἶχεν probavit Wex in Fleckeis. Annal., vol. 73 (1856), p. 670.' I believe the Armenian read εἶχεν, for it = 'habet,' and renders ἄν faithfully.

\*31C ξυμβουλεύω περιῶν καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν]. So Schanz, following E alone. Wohlrab rightly prints πολυπραγμοῦ, which is attested by BDFΔArm.

\*32A μὴ ὑπέικων δὲ ἅμ' ἂν καὶ ἀπολοίμην]. This is Wohlrab's reading, taken from Stephanus, and it is attested by the Armenian. Schanz prefers δὲ ἅμα ἀπολ. simply. The MSS differ. BDΔ have ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἂν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅμ' ἂν F; ἅμα καὶ E, which is nearest to the Armenian and true reading.

32B ἐβούλεσθε BDFΔ; ἐβουλεύσασθε EArm.

\*32B ἡναντιώθην μηδὲν ποιεῖν]. So BD; but EFΔdArm. have ἦν. ὑμῖν μηδέν, which is better and is read by Wohlrab.

\*32C ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία ἐγένετο]. So all Greek MSS; Heindorf conjectured ἦ before ὀλιγαρχία, and to it the Version testifies.

\*33B ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ πένητι παρέχω ἐμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν, καὶ ἐὰν τις βούληται ἀκοῦειν ὧν ἂν λέγω]. Here καὶ before ἐὰν breaks the run of the sentence and is superfluous. BDEF have it. Δ and the Arm. rightly omit it. The Arm. also omits, with E, the καὶ after ὁμοίως.

33C ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀηδὲς]. So BDFE; but Δ has ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἄ. and Arm. ἔστι δὴ οὐκ ἄ.

\*33C καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἥπερ τις ποτε καὶ ἄλλη θεία μοῖρα ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὀτιοῦν προσέταξε πράττειν]. The Arm. = 'et omni modo quocunque quondam alii cuivis homini divino sorte quodviscunque imperatum est agere.' In the Classical Review for October, 1889, I conjectured from this that ἥπερ τινὶ ποτε καὶ ἄλλῳ should be read, and then θεία μοῖρα . . . προσετάχθη for θεία μοῖρα προσέταξε. The first half of my conjecture is practically established by Δ, which reads ἥπερ τις πῶποτε καὶ ἄλλῳ θ. μ. ἀνθρώπῳ. The other half of my conjecture, though unnecessary, is yet seen to be very probable, if we compare the words which precede ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο . . . προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. Plato is very fond of the dative use θεία μοῖρα. πῶποτε, read in FΔ and preferred by Hirschig, may perhaps underlie the Armenian text also.

33D νῦν μεμνήσθαι [καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι]. The Arm. = 'nunc sciscitantes ut hi recordantes puniant me.' As if the sense of the context were this: "But if the older men were not willing themselves to prefer an accusation against me, then some of the kinsmen of the young men in question, their fathers and brothers or other relatives, should now be enquiring if their kinsmen had suffered any harm at my hands; in order that, if so, the jury may remember it and punish me." Whether this be *de suo* on the translator's part or no, it certainly gives point to the words καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, which all the editors bracket and Bekker and Stallbaum omit; although BDEFΔArm. retain them. Only inferior MSS omit καὶ τιμωρ., and their retention in all the best MSS is a hint that something has dropped out of the context which made them appropriate.

33D οὗς ἐγὼ ὀρώ]. ? Arm. = οὗς καὶ γὰρ ὀρώ.

\*33E ἔτι δ' Ἀντιφῶν. EArm.

33E ἄλλοι τοίνυν οὗτοι ὦν]. Here τοίνυν is awkward and Heindorf conjectured ἄλλοι τε ἐνταυθοῖ. The Armenian corrects the passage more simply: 'aliique nunc illorum quorum' = ἄλλοι τε νῦν ὦν. F omits οὗτοι.

\*33E Θεοξοτίδου]. So F; θεοξωτίδου BD; ὁ θεοσδοτίδου E, 'sed articulum necessarium esse recte negavit H. Sauppe Mus. Rhenan., vol. 4 (1846), p. 138." In 1891 I conjectured in the Classical Review that τε ὁ Ζωτίδου was read here in the Armenian translator's Greek text, and that is actually the reading of Δ. The Attic inscription 944, which in a list of names gives Νικόστρατος θεοξοτίδου, leaves no doubt but that the reading of F is right. It is equally certain that τε ὁ preserved in the Arm. and Δ has, by confusion with θεο- which followed, dropped out of the codices, and that the text originally ran Νικόστρατος τε ὁ θεοξοτίδου. The spelling of Arm. and Δ errs in common with BD. Immediately below the error παράδος pervades BDFΔArm. The codex E is alone free from it. Certainly, as Sauppe says, the article before θεοξοτίδου might be omitted, but it is not likely to have been, since it is twice used in the context. The τε, of course, is answered by καὶ παράλος ὅδε.

33E ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνός γε αὐτοῦ καταδεηθείη]. The Arm. adds ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, whether or no *de suo* I cannot say. Stallbaum notes: 'sensus hic est: *non potest Theodotus Nicostratum fratrem rogare, ne me accuset et contra me testetur.*'

33E παράλος]. So Schanz, following E; but BDFΔArm. ut uid. παράδος.

34A. After Ἀδείμαντος Arm. adds τε, which is wanted.

\*34A ἐγὼ ἔχω ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν]. 'ὑμῖν in ras. B'; Arm. omits, and the Greek is better without it.

34A ὧς φασι Μέλητος καὶ Ἀνυτος]. The Arm. perhaps = Μέλητός τε καὶ Ἀν.

34B ξυνίσασι DEbΔ; ξυνίασι BF. The Arm. = 'intellexerunt falsitatem Meliti et meam ueritatem,' which probably implies ξυνίασι.

\*35B ταῦτα γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὕτε ἡμᾶς χρὴ ποιεῖν]. The Arm. rather implies γοῦν, read by f instead of γάρ. In place of ἡμᾶς, read in Arm.Δ and conjectured by Förster, the codices BDF and perhaps E have the corruption ὑμᾶς.

35D μὴ οὖν ἀξιούτέ με, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιαῦτα δεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πράττειν ἢ μήτε ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ εἶναι μήτε δίκαια μήτε ὅσια, ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία [πάντως] καὶ ἀσεβείας φεύγοντα ὑπὸ Μελήτου τουτουῖ]. So BDF. The general sense must be of course this. Socrates deprecates the jury's expecting him to stoop to any unjust or impious trick; especially in a trial like this, in which he is defending himself from a charge of impiety. Schanz brackets πάντως, which is impossible where it stands. E reads μάλιστα πάντως νῆ Δία μέντοι. Bekker would read ἄλλως τε πάντως νῆ Δία μάλιστα μέντοι. Δ has the same text as BDF, except that it has, with E, πρὸς ἡμᾶς for πρὸς ὑμᾶς and then φεύγοντας for φεύγοντα. The Arm. = 'Ne igitur dignum facite me, o homines Athenenses, talia necesse esse agere apud vos, quae non aestimo bona esse neque iusta, neque pia, ne aliter quidem, per Aramasdum, ideo omnino de impietate fugientem a melito isto.' The Arm. probably had the same reading as BDF and Δ: ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία πάντως καὶ. Surely a small change of order, ἄλλως τε νῆ Δία, πάντως μέντοι καὶ ἀσεβείας, gives an excellent sense and is a less violent expedient than that of rejecting πάντως, to which all the sources testify.

\*36B οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσας ὥνπερ οἱ πολλοί, χρηματισμοῦ τε καὶ οἰκονομίας]. 'Ad ὥνπερ suppleant ἐπιμελοῦνται, cuiusmodi ellipseos sibi quidem nondum aliud exemplum occurrisse ait Heindorf in prooemio editionis suae p. xxi; fortasse ὥνπερ οὐχ οἱ πολλοὶ scribendum.' So Schanz, and the Armenian adds the οὐ, so verifying his conjecture. It = 'quietem non ferens, sed remissior factus ad ea ad quae et multi non, ad opesque et rem domesticam.' Therefore restore thus: ὥνπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οὐχί, χρηματισμοῦ. A scribe would easily lapse from ΠΟΛΛΟΙΟΥΧΙΧΡΗΜ into ΠΟΛΛΟΙΧΡΗΜ.

\*36C εἰς ταῦτ' ἰόντα]. So EΔArm.; εἰς ταῦτ' ὄντα BfD<sup>1</sup>.



\*36C *ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦα, οἱ ἐλθὼν μήτε ὑμῖν μήτε ἐμαυτῷ ἔμελλον μηδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον [ἰὼν] εὐεργετεῖν τὴν μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐνταῦθα ἦα*. Here Schanz brackets *ἰὼν*. The Arm. = '... Sed separatim ad singulos accedens benefaciens maximam beneficentiam ...' It is clear that he read *εὐεργετῶν* for *εὐεργετεῖν*. Most of the errors in the Clarkian Plato, as Badham showed, have arisen from a wrongly-read compendium. Can the compendium for *-ῶν* have been here mistaken for *-εῖν*?

\*36D *εἰ δέι γε . . . τιμᾶσθαι*. The Arm. involves the infin. *τιμᾶσθαι*, for which BFD<sup>1</sup>Δ have *τιμᾶσθε*. For *δεῖ*, adopted from Bekker's text, BFD<sup>1</sup> have *δὲ* and E *δῆ*. The Armenian omits it, so that *τιμᾶσθαι* hangs in the air. His Greek MS must have contained a rasura of *δεῖ*.

36D *δεομένην ἄγειν σχολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ παρακελεύσει*. The Arm. has *παρασκενῇ* 'at your expense,' a curious and interesting variant found in no Greek MS.

\*37A *ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι*. BFD<sup>1</sup>Δ; *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθ.* EArm.

\*37B. The Arm. = *ὥς ἁξίως εἰμι τούτου τοῦ κακοῦ*.

37D *κἂν μὲν τούτους ἀπελαύνω . . . ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπελαύνω*. The Arm. renders *ἀπελαύνω* as if it were *τούτοις ἀκολουθῶ*; . . . *μὴ ἀκολουθῶ*—a curious variant, if it really stood in his Greek text. But I suspect he merely misunderstood what was before him.

\*38B *ἴσως ἂν δυναίμην ἐκτίσαι ὑμῖν μὴν ἄργυρίον*. The Arm. implies *μίαν μὴν*.

\*38D *τοῦ ἐθέλειν λέγειν*. The Arm. adds *μὴ* after *τοῦ*, with Eb.

\*39A *τό γε ἀποθανεῖν ἂν τις ἐκφύγοι*. So BDF; DΔArm. add *ῥᾶον* before *ἂν*. One codex of Stobaeus omits *ῥᾶον* in excerpting the passage; the rest have it, and it should certainly stand.

39D *μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολούειν*. Arm. = *κωλύειν*; Δ has *κωλούειν*.

\*40C *μετοίκησης τῇ ψυχῇ [τοῦ τόπου τοῦ] ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον*. Schanz brackets the words *τοῦ τόπου τοῦ*, which are omitted in one codex of Theodoret. The Arm. = 'transmigratio τῇ animae e loco hocce in alium locum,' as if it had omitted *ἐνθένδε* and read *τοῦ τόπου τούτου*. The half of *τούτου* may have dropped out and *ἐνθένδε* have been added from 40E (*ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον*) to supplement the *τοῦ* left hanging in the text. *ἀπὸ* or *ἐκ* still seems to be wanted after *μετοίκησης*, unless *μεταβολή* preceding enables the sense to dispense therewith.

\*40E *οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι ἰδιώτην τινά, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὔρειν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας*. Here *αὐτὸν* inclusit Hirschig. The Arm. omits it, so it was not in his Greek

text. As a matter of fact, the αὐτὸν is wanted in the next clause, where the Greek MSS have lost it. εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν, κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω. Yet it is not the fact of death being τοιοῦτον, but death itself that Socrates reckoned to be κέρδος or gain. Here the Armenian inserts αὐτὸν after κέρδος, and so brings out what Socrates wished really to say: 'Si igitur talis est ἡ mors, lucrum eam equidem dico.' Thus the history of the Greek text, not only as we find it in our MSS, but also in the excerpts of Stobaeus and Eusebius, is clear. αὐτὸν, which in the Armenian's Greek stood after κέρδος, where it belongs, got into the margin and was put back in the preceding clause after εἶρεῖν, where it is not wanted. A better proof of the extreme antiquity of the Greek text represented by the Armenian we could not have, and it explains also how in the preceding section the Armenian may be free from the gloss ἐνθένδε, which is already in the texts of Theodoret, Eusebius and Stobaeus. The Armenian also reads ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, which greatly improves the text.

41A ἄρα φαύλη ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀποδημία]. By a slip φαύλη is rendered as if φιλή.

41B ἐξετάζοντά τε καὶ ἐρευνῶντα is read in the Arm. The Greek MSS omit τε.

\*41B τίς δὲ αὐτῶν σοφός ἐστιν καὶ τίς οἶεται μὲν, ἔστιν δ' οὐ]. δὲ is a conjecture of Schanz. The MSS BDFΔ have τίς ἂν, for which Stallbaum conjectured ἄρ'. E and the Armenian read τίς simply, and that is probably what should be read.

\*41B ἐπὶ πόσῳ δ' ἂν τις, . . . δέξαιτο ἐξετάσαι]. The Arm. involves δέξαιτο τὸ ἐξετάσαι, which must be right.

41D ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν· τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἄξιον μέμφεσθαι]. Ed have βλαπτέιν τι, which may possibly underlie the Armenian.

12. *Relation of the sources to each other.* BD from one source only.—In conclusion let us try to fix the relations to one another of Schanz's four MSS and of Δ and the Version. First as regards BD. These have a common lacuna: μάθημα πώποτε in 33B; also common vices: ἱκανῶς ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐπιδείκνυσαι in 25C, ἕξως for ἐξετάσεως in 22E. The orthography of both has been adjusted by the same standard, and that an almost artificial one. In D some of the more glaring errors which stood in the tradition have been corrected, e. g. for ξυνίασιν of B we get in D ξυνίσασιν in 34B. Thus B is less sophisticated than D, but as regards critical value they form a single source.

13. *Use of Arm. in discharging the impurities of Δ.*—Δ and Armenian, though connected by a common lacuna at 21C and by

the peculiar errors τε ὁ ζωτίδου in 33E, ἄλλην τινά for ἄλλην πολλήν in 19C, μοι for μοι μὴ in 23B, are yet more loosely allied than BD. They have both descended from one archetype, of which the Armenian is much the purer representative, Δ having been contaminated in its descent therefrom. Such later contaminations we have in 17A, where δεῖν is shared with E, in 22E λυσιτελεῖ shared with F, ἅμα καὶ ἅμ' ἂν in 32A shared with BD, παρανόμων with E in 32B, πρὸς ἡμᾶς for πρὸς ὑμᾶς with E in 35C. These and many other errors of Δ are absent from the Armenian, a fact which proves them to be alien to the real tradition of Δ.

14. *Yet some good readings in Δ are not attested by Arm.*—There remain a few readings of Δ which most editors would accept as certain, but which are not attested by the Armenian. Such is the omission of τί before ἄξιος in 36B. In adding τί here the Armenian has the support of BDEF, so that its omission in Δ must be a happy accident. It is difficult so to explain πάλαι καὶ νῦν in 23E. καὶ is in BDEF, καὶ νῦν in d and refingens b. The Arm. has neither, owing, I suspect, to an accidental omission, due to *jogj* = σφόδρα following *ειργαγῆ* = καὶ νῦν.

15. *F contaminated from E.*—A third group of two texts only which, judged by Schanz's criterion, i. e. by BD alone, have many common vices, are EF. Unless, however, we assume that BD are necessarily right, we only get three errors peculiar to this group, viz. 19D ἐκ τούτου for ἐκ τούτων, 25E ἄλλων for ἄλλον, 28B πότερον for πόττερα. The common orthography of these two codices is shared by Δ, and is certainly not of necessity wrong because B follows another system. The small residue of undeniably erroneous readings common to E and F may be accounted for as the result of contamination.

16. *Problems arising out of E.*—The problems suggested by E are not at all simple. I suspect that some of the difficulties inherent in all the other sources have been simply got rid of by omission in E, e. g. μᾶλλον in 18B, ἂν before αὐτῶν in 41B, where, however, the Armenian seems also to omit it. So in 39D E has οἰόμενοι, with the Armenian, where DF add με, Δ adds γε, while B has erased two letters. In such cases there was probably a *rasura* in the Greek text used by the Armenian. In some few cases E alone has preserved the true reading, e. g. ξυνίσασι in 34B, παράλος in 33E, where all our other sources have παράδος. It is just these few cases where E alone is right that are difficult to explain. It is more full of errors than any other source, not excepting the unintelligently transcribed Δ.

17. *Different archetypes delimited by groups of common vices.*  
—The common vices affecting different groups of our MSS enable us to distinguish several stages or archetypes of the text.

(i) *Archetype of BDEFΔArm.*—First there are common vices of BDEFΔArm. These are—

20B εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχου, where Schanz and others read ἔχει.

31B μέντοι τι, where Wohlrab and Schanz adopt Cobet's conjecture, μέν τι.

23A τοῦτον, where they adopt F. A. Wolf's conjecture, τοῦτ' οὐ.

18B μάλλον, which Wohlrab simply omits, with E, while Schanz writes μὰ τόν.

18C οἱ omitted after Ἀθηναῖοι and added by Heindorf. (Ficino may have here read οἱ, for he reads: "Hi profecto, o viri Athenienses, qui hunc de me rumorem divulgaverunt.")

31D ἀτιμάσειεν for ἀτιμώσκειν.

If all or even some only of these readings be vices, then we must suppose a common archetype of all these texts in which these vices coexisted and by reason of their common descent, from which BDEFΔArm. exhibit in common this group of errors. Let us call this archetype γ.

(ii) *Archetype of BDEF.*—The following vices beset BDEF:

19D πάντες for πάντων.

22A μὴ omitted after μοι.

23B εἰ omitted before εἴποι.

25E τὸ omitted after τοῦτο.

28B τι omitted after πράττη.

35B ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς.

Let us call the archetype which combined these vices η. Then ΔArm., which have not got these vices, are not descended from this archetype η.

(iii) *Archetype of BDF.*—The following vices beset BDF, but not EΔArm.:

28D τάξη + ἦ (Theodoret, Eusebius, Stobaeus, Antoninus have not ἦ).

22D ἀποκρύπτειν οἱ ἀποκρύπτει for ἀπέκρυπτεν (Ficino: *obfuscabat*).

30B + ἀφίετε.

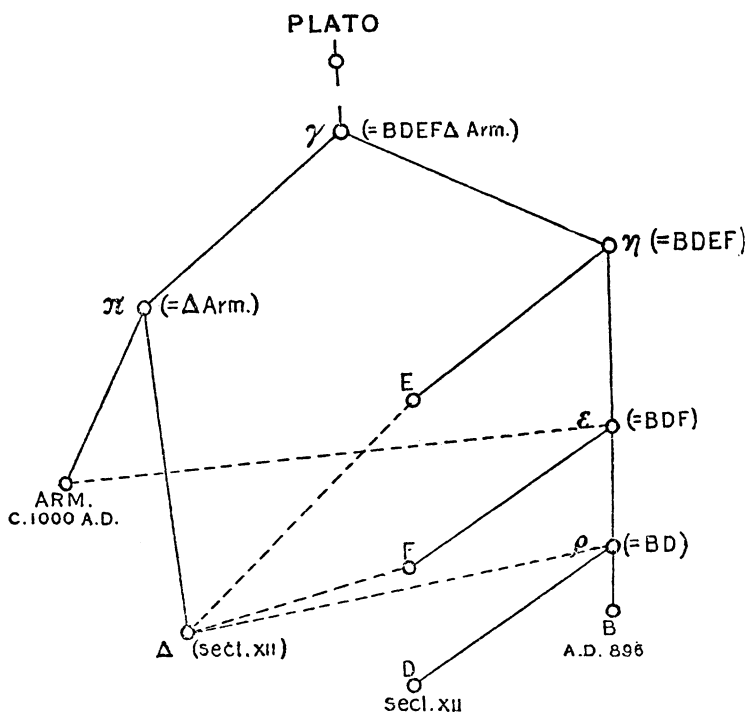
36C ταῦτ' ὄντα for ταῦτ' ἰόντα.

39A ῥᾶον omitted.

23E συντεταμένως for συντεταγμένως (read by Wohlrab. Ficino: *exposito*).

Therefore BDF flowed from a common archetype, which let us call ε.

18. *Resulting genealogy of the sources.*—Let us further symbolise the archetype of BD by the symbol  $\rho$  and that of  $\Delta$  Arm. by  $\pi$ . Then the following diagram illustrates to the eye the genetic relations of our six sources.



In the above diagram the Greek letters denote archetypes of the various MSS. Continuous lines denote real descent, the dotted ones are lines of contamination of  $\Delta$  by other inferior families; for  $\Delta$  shares many corruptions with EF and  $\rho$  from which the Armenian is free, and which therefore were not in its archetype  $\pi$ .

19. *Canons inferred for the right editing of the text of the Apology.*—If this family-tree of our six sources be correct—and I do not see how it can be impugned—then there follow conclusions of some importance for the proper editing of the text of the Apology.

1. Any reading which, as being common to Arm. and  $\Delta$ , is proved to have stood in  $\pi$ , and which also stands in any of the

descendants of  $\eta$ —namely, in EFD or B—must be accepted; for it must then have also stood in that archetype  $\gamma$  which is our ultimate authority for the text.

2. A reading which only occurs in  $\pi$  and not in any descendant of  $\eta$  must be judged of on its merits; for  $\pi$  has as much authority as  $\eta$ —that is, as BDEF put together.

20. *These canons tested and shown to be sound in regard to* (i) *common readings of EF $\Delta$ Arm.;* (ii) *common readings of F $\Delta$ Arm.*—Acute questions at once arise, if the first of these canons be true; for a whole series of readings attested by EF $\Delta$ Arm., but rejected by Schanz and others as alien to BD, must be accepted, and the rival readings be set down as accidents of  $\rho$ . Let us enumerate these readings.

(i) *Common readings of EF $\Delta$ Arm.*—18C ἀκούοντες against ἀκούσατες of BD. Here BD is plainly wrong, and Wohlrab prints ἀκούοντες, which Ficino also read: 'qui nam haec audiunt.'

18C ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε, παῖδες ὄντες ἔνιοι ὑμῶν καὶ μεράκια against . . . παῖδες ὄντες, ἔνιοι δ' ὅς . . . of BD. Socrates complains that his enemies traduced him to those who were of such tender age that they were easily worked upon. Now if δ' be read here, the text implies that a μεράκιον, or lad of 14–21 years of age, is more easily humbugged than a mere child under 14. Plato would never have written such nonsense. If δ' is left, then παῖδες and μεράκια must change places in the text. Thus both the sense and the evidence is against δ', which is a mere freak of BD. Ficino saw this objection and tries to import sense into δ' by rendering: 'ea aetate in qua plerique vestrum pueri ac certe adolescentuli perfacile credidistis.' But δὲ cannot mean *ac certe*.

24B αὕτη ἔστω ἱκανὴ ἀπολογία against αὕτη ἐστὶν ἰ. ἀπ. of BD. The διορθωτής of B, a *manus uetusta*,<sup>1</sup> writes ω above -υ, and he usually agrees with EF $\Delta$ Arm. ἔστω is obviously right.

24C εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστὰς ἀνθρώπους against ἀγῶνα of BD. As ἀνθρώπους is plural, there would be more than one ἀγῶν. Cp. Pol. III 413D ἀγῶνας αὐτοῖς θεῶν and many other passages where the plural is used, cited in Ast's Lexicon. However, Δ has ἀγῶνα here, so the reading of  $\pi$  is not quite certain.

<sup>1</sup>See Wohlrab's Prolegom., p. 39, in his edition of the Apology (Lipsiae, 1877). In his Prolegom. Wohlrab reckons ἐστὶν here among the readings of B, 'quae aperte falsa sunt,' yet prints it in his text.

27D ὁμοίως γὰρ ἀν. Here BD omit ἀν, which d adds and the editors adopt.

27E σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα. So πEF and editors. For νοῦν D reads γοῦν, Bd read γ' οὖν νοῦν.

25D ἀπόκριναι against ἀποκρίνου. It may be assumed that π had here the same reading as Δ, though what Greek the Armenian had cannot be determined. Wohlrab prints ἀπόκριναι. The διωρθωτής of B writes αι over ου, and there can be no doubt but that ἀπόκριναι is right.

28C ὦ παῖ. BD omit. Eusebius read ὦ παῖ and the διωρθωτής adds it both in B and D. Yet Schanz heroically leaves it out of his text. Wohlrab retains it.

29D ὦ ἄνδρες against ἄνδρες. Here π is obscured, for Arm. adds ὦ and Δ has it not. However, Eusebius read it, so the Arm. is most likely true to π, whereas Δ has been contaminated from ρ.

30B λέγων ὅτι against λέγων. Here, as Cobet saw, ὅτι is wanted and Wohlrab prints it.

32B ὑμῖν μηδέν against μηδέν of ρ. Here Wohlrab prints ὑμῖν, which is wanted, though Schanz omits it from his text.

37C. ΔEFd<sup>1</sup> have ἀλλὰ δὴ φυχῆς τιμήσωμαι. Here B has τιμήσωμαι, which Wohlrab and Schanz print, and which is better. The Greek of the Version is not certain here; for though Δ has φοβήσωμαι, yet an Armenian translator would almost certainly render the deliberative subjunctive by the future. Thus in all the cases in which π is clear, the reading which it shares with EF is to be preferred to that of BD.

(ii) *Common readings of FΔArm.*—It is the same with the readings of π + F, among which are these:

22C ἂ οὐκ ἤκουσαν against ἂ οὐκ ἦσαν. Here ἤκουσαν is the *potior lectio* and ἦσαν is an easy corruption of ἤκουσαν. Socrates means that the poets, just because they were poets, thought they were the wisest of men in all other matters in regard to which they had not even the reputation of being wise, much less would they be really wise in regard to these things. That went without saying, so Plato does not say it.

25C ἀποφαίνεις σαφῶς. So πF; σαφ. ἀπ. BDE. Here BDE may as well be wrong as right.

26A τοῦτο μὲν ἦδη δῆλόν ἐστιν πF. DE have the order δῆλον ἦδη ἐστιν. But B is not certain, for 'ἦδη ἐστὶν in folio rescripto om. B.' We may infer that πF is here right.

18D πλὴν εἰ μὴ\* τις πF; πλὴν εἰ τις BDE. Here μὴ is more idiomatic, and Wohlrab prints it in his critical edition of 1877,

and justifies it, p. 42, of his prolegomena. Unless Plato here wrote  $\mu\eta$ , no scribe is likely ever to have put it in *de suo*.

30C.  $\pi$ E add  $\delta$  before  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  'Αθηναῖοι, a neutral sort of change.

21. *Risk of the Armenian's being an already contaminated text.*—In the above I have argued that certain vices found in  $\Delta$  have not descended to it from  $\pi$ , because the Armenian discharges them. The counter-question suggests itself: Had not the Armenian's Greek text also undergone some contaminations from inferior books, and cannot  $\Delta$  be used to discharge the vices of the Armenian so contracted? This is a fair question, though any answer we may have to make to it will not affect any conclusions which we may have based on the agreement of  $\Delta$  and Arm.; for wherever they do agree, their agreement necessarily reveals to us what stood in  $\pi$ . It does, however, affect the authority of the Arm. where it differs from  $\Delta$ . In such case  $\Delta$  may in the abstract claim, with as good a right as the Armenian, to represent  $\pi$ . The one thing certain is that where they disagree they cannot both of them exhibit the reading of  $\pi$ ; and in such cases perhaps neither may, though that is very improbable.

Let us consider, then, how these two joint representatives of  $\pi$  differ. How they agree we have seen. A more complete answer to this question would be given by a comparison with the Arm. of the codex Laurent. plut. 85, 17, and Vindobon. n. 89, which are closely allied to  $\Delta$ , and sometimes exhibit a characteristic reading, e. g.  $\delta\kappa\omega\ \omega\varsigma$  in 26E, where  $\Delta$  has lost it. Here this reading must have stood in  $\pi$ .

22. *Examination of the readings in which  $\Delta$  and Arm. are opposed.*—In the following place the Arm. agrees with F against BDE $\Delta$ :

22B  $\epsilon\nu\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\varphi\ \tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\varphi$  against  $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron$ . "I learned then about the poets also in this brief experience that" is good enough sense.

33E omit  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$  before  $\delta\upsilon$ , which is perhaps right.

The passages in which the Arm. and E have one reading and BDF $\Delta$  another are more numerous.

21B  $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\psi\upsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\ \delta\eta$  against  $\delta\epsilon$ . Here the first hand in B wrote  $\delta\eta$ , which should be accepted.

30B  $\delta\ \alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  'Αθηναῖοι. Here BDF $\Delta$  omit  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ .

30B  $\eta\ \alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\ \mu\eta$ . Here BDF wrongly add  $\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  after  $\mu\eta$ .  $\Delta$  is hardly opposed to Arm. in this case.

33E. Perhaps the Arm. read  $\xi\tau\iota\ \delta'$  'Αντιφῶν in 33E, for it renders: 'Iamque hicce Antiphon  $\delta$  Kephisieus.' But unless  $\delta'$



here stood in E, one would never suspect the Version of having had it.

37A ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

38D τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν. Here b as well as E add μὴ, which Schanz omits, but Wohlrab prints. It is more idiomatic and more likely to have dropped out of the text than to have been inserted by a scribe.

41D. Add τι after βλέπειν Ed. The Armenian 'damnum aliquid facere' may be a paraphrase of βλέπειν only; and here again, unless two Greek sources added τι, one would not have suspected it from the Armenian alone.

32B ἐβουλεύσασθε Arm.E. Of this ἐβούλεσθε of BDFΔ is an easy corruption; but not so ἐβουλεύσασθε of ἐβούλεσθε. Plato uses βουλεύομαι with the infinitive, so there is no reason why the Arm. and E should not here preserve the true reading.

Thus in three out of five cases in which Arm. clearly supports E against BDFΔ, it is certainly right. In two more it cannot be proved wrong.

In one more case, 34B ξυνίασι, the Armenian shares its error with BF. We may be sure that here π read ξυνίασι, for that is read in Δ. The Armenian has been contaminated from ε with an error which by its presence in ε is proved to be very ancient.

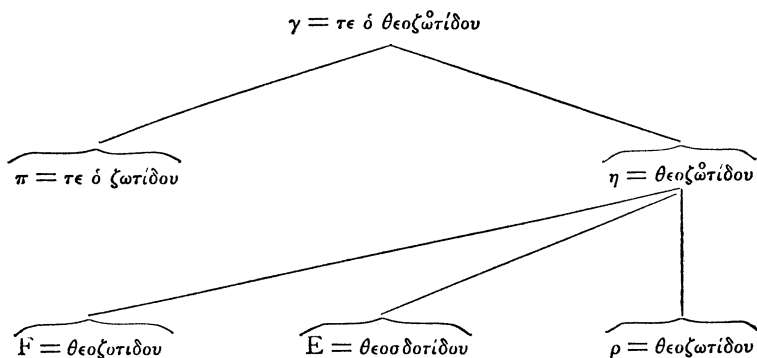
Where BDEF conflict among themselves, ΔArm. frequently have a third reading, e. g. 27A BDF have διαπειρωμένῳ: E adds ἦ before it, ΔArm. add καὶ. There is the same sort of triangular duel in 30C, where see the collation of the Arm. So in 37B, where BΔ have του, EFd<sup>1</sup> τοῦ, Arm. τοῖτον τοῦ. Again, in 36D, where Bekker rightly reads δεῖ 'cum libro quodam.' Here, where all the better texts conflict and all are wrong, the Arm. seems to have had a rasura and translates nothing at all.

23. *Attempted solution of the objections to the above genealogy arising out of isolated true readings of E or F.*—The only data, therefore, of tradition which stand in the way of my attempted genealogy of the MSS of the Apology are certain right readings in E and F, where BD and π agree in having wrong ones.

So in 33E πάραλος. In 18B it omits the crux μάλλον. It was so much a matter of chance whether Δ or Λ was written in an early Greek MS that the error πάραδος may quite well have arisen independently in π on the one hand and in ε on the other. Or the mistake may already have existed in γ, and E may be right by accident. We hardly need infer, in such a case, that E goes

outside the archetype  $\gamma$ . In 18B I suspect that E has simply shirked a difficulty.

In one other case my theory of the interrelations of the MSS seems to break down; namely, in 33E, where F alone has the reading  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ , attested by the Attic inscr. No. 944. Here we may assume that a diorthotes had written  $\omicron$  over  $\omega$  or *vice versa* in the archetype  $\gamma$  itself. The following scheme would here represent the history of our texts.



24. *The archetype of BDEF anterior to the age of Eusebius.*—

In my collation of the Armenian I have asterisked those readings which, whether or not evidenced by the Greek codices, yet appear to me to be right; the more so because they generally involve so little change of the text, and also answer to the previous conjectures of scholars. There is one of these rectifications of the text which, if it be right, gives us a time-clue. I allude to 40E. Here Eusebius and Stobaeus, along with all our Greek codices of Plato, leave out  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  where it should be and insert it where it should not. This common error goes far to prove that the text of Plato used here by Stobaeus and Eusebius flowed from the archetype  $\eta$ . If the Armenian be right, then  $\pi$ , its archetype, was probably right also, and  $\Delta$  has been contaminated here. Thus  $\eta$  was older than Eusebius, as the common parent of so many families might be expected to be. As to the age of  $\pi$  no conclusions can be drawn from its inclusion in itself of the right reading. Yet it must have been a very early copy. Otherwise, how could its two descendants have had time to drift so widely apart in many of their readings, the one at least as soon as A. D. 1000, the other as early as the XIIth century? The links of descent between

$\Delta$  and  $\pi$  must have been many, and there must have been much rubbing of shoulders between them and the descendants of  $\eta$  before the much contaminated text of  $\Delta$  could be generated. However, the rapidity of the process depends more on the number of people who wished to peruse the most popular of Plato's works than on anything else; and a thousand people copying and reading Plato in the course of ten years would generate far more error and confusion in the texts than ten people similarly engaged over a period of ten thousand.

25. *General conclusions.*—The general conclusions which we reach in regard to the text of the Apology are these, and probably they apply *mutatis mutandis* to others of Plato's dialogues, certainly to the Euthyphro:—

1. Too exclusive a value has been set on the Clarkian Codex, of which the text is really very one-sided.

2. More weight should be attached to the other so-called inferior texts; and for the first tetralogy and the Gorgias to  $\Delta$  in particular, which, in spite of its lateness and blunders, is a more comprehensively correct text than even B. The MSS Laurentianae plut. 87, 17, saeculi XIV, and Vindobonensis n. 89, which are most closely allied to  $\Delta$ , must be collated and their common readings carefully weighed.

I owe my knowledge of these last two congeners of  $\Delta$  to Wohlrab's valuable prolegomena, of which I had the use in writing the last five sections of this essay. Nor must I close without expressing my gratitude to Martin Schanz for his critical edition. His array of the readings of BDEF and of the various conjectures of scholars in regard to difficult passages of the text cannot be surpassed for clearness, succinctness and, I believe, accuracy. The fault of his text is that he is too much under the sway of B, and consequently not sufficiently open-minded in regard to the other sources from which B often needs to be supplemented.

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